



The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
37 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 9
No. 6



OUR FIRST NATIONAL
CONVENTION

WHAT IS THE FLAG TO SUFFRAGE-
AMERICANS?

WOMAN THE HELPMATE

DEBATES AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

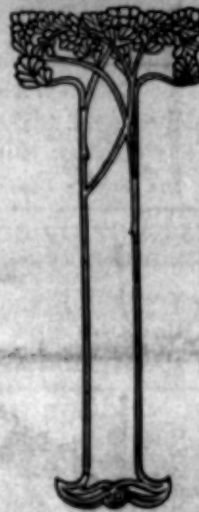
WHY ARE YOU AN ANTI-
SUFFRAGIST?

WHAT THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT
MEANS

WHY WORKING MEN OPPOSE
WOMAN SUFFRAGE

PREPAREDNESS OR PACIFISM

OCTOBER
1916



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OUR FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION

A CONVENTION made up of one thousand or more representative women is being arranged for by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. It will begin in Washington, D. C., Thursday, December 7th.

A feature of the convention will be a big banquet to which many prominent men and women have been invited and requested to speak.

Every PROTEST reader who can attend is cordially invited to be present at this convention. Send in your application for a guest card on the attached blank, if you are not a delegate and have not received a special invitation.

This will be the first national convention held in America by women who believe that progress for their sex lies outside of politics, and demands their exemption from voting and masculine activities that they may consecrate themselves more fully to higher missions of womanhood.

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage is now five years old. Hitherto, only regular annual meetings for the reading of reports, election of officers and other regular business connected with the opposition to woman suffrage have been held.

This year, however, the "antis" are arranging to make a big popular demonstration of the constructive as well as the obstructive philosophy of the movement. The ideal of the anti-suffragists is the ultimate union of women of all classes and creeds along non-partisan lines, so that the interests of womanhood, childhood and civilization may be advanced free from the strife and division of politics, factions and parties; and that the fundamental principles of patriotism, morality and Americanism

upon which all good citizens are agreed may be established more firmly in the present and future generations.

The immediate object of the association, the defeat of woman suffrage, which, with its feminist teachings and socialistic tendencies, the anti-suffragists consider inimical to the true interests of womanhood, also will be brought out at the convention.

But the convention will not be devoted exclusively to anti-suffrage propaganda. The speakers have been asked to bring out constructive and practical ideas of democracy, citizenship, patriotism and preparedness, with special regard to the aspirations and achievements of woman.

APPLICATION FOR GUEST CARD

Name

Address

Will attend the First Convention of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, at Washington, D. C., Thursday, December 7, 1916.

[Mail this blank—or a postcard—to the Chairman, Convention Committee, at the national headquarters, 37 W. 39th St., New York City.]

THE FLAG "A PIECE OF BUNTING" AND ARMY AND NAVY NEEDLESS—TO SUFFRAGE-AMERICANS

"SUFFRAGE-FIRST" americans, it appears, do not indorse the United States Army and Navy, and consider the American Flag a "piece of bunting."

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, at the last session of the forty-eighth annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, September 9th, struck a hard blow at preparedness, and in our opinion at patriotism. She said:

America does not need military and industrial preparedness if it is prepared to live within its own borders. The great evil that has come into our world has come because a nation wished to protect its borders and despoil another country."

In another section of the same speech, Dr. Shaw is said to have asked:

What is the American flag but a piece of bunting?

This last question drew from the editor of the Milwaukee *Sentinel* the following comment:

"What is the American flag but a piece of bunting?" asks Dr. Anna Shaw, President of the National Woman's Suffrage Association.

In the same vein of shallow smartness she might ask, "What is the log cabin in which Lincoln was born but an old shanty hardly fit for firewood?"

One is afraid Dr. Shaw lacks even the modicum of imagination required to realize the weighty symbolism of the flag. John A. Dix was not thinking of a mere "piece of bunting" when he gave the famous order, "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot."

The question, "What is the American flag but a piece of bunting?" would have greatly exasperated General Dix.

Mrs. C. E. Estabrook, president of the Wisconsin Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in a letter to the *Sentinel*, compares Dr. Shaw's remark with a quotation from the Supreme Court of the United States, which reads:

To every true American the flag is the symbol of the nation's power, the Emblem of Freedom, in its truest, best sense. It is not extravagant to say that to all lovers of the country it signifies government resting on consent of the governed; liberty regulated by law; the protection of the weak against the strong; security against the exercise of arbitrary power, and absolute safety for free institutions against foreign aggression.

The first part of Dr. Shaw's speech evoked some remarkable letters condemning the suffragists as pacifists, among them several from Elizabeth Ogden Wood, a former suffragist. To none of these letters or criticisms did any suffrage leader reply until the following editorial, in part, appeared in the *New York Times*, October 9th:

That the failure of even one woman prominent among the suffragists to declare herself for military preparedness and against peace without honor has turned into "antis" some men who used to be "pros" more or less enthusiastic, while other men who were indifferent to the suffrage cause have thus been made antagonistic to it—these facts already have been called to the attention of those whom they most concern. The information, however, seemingly has not interested them; at any rate, it has not elicited an answer of any sort, and, judging from their silence, the suffrage leaders do not deem it worth while to protest against the deduction from their pacifist attitude that the feminization of politics would result in the maintenance of peace at any price so far as the women voters could effect it.

Perhaps the letter from Elizabeth Ogden Wood, a lifelong worker for woman suffrage, who wrote to the *Times* that she, too, shared the apprehensions mentioned, and that she will seek the ballot for herself and her sisters no more while the suffrage leaders remain silent or talk open pacifism, will be more successful in getting some sort of a reply from the strangely silent officials of the franchise leagues and societies.

Three days later Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt wrote to the *Times* saying that the suffragists, so far as she knew, had lost no members except Mrs. Wood, "because we are charged with loving peace too well."

Mrs. Catt made a point that "the majority of women and not a few suffrage leaders" must be tested to discover the effect of suffrage on preparedness. While this point brings out again the fact that the majority of women do not follow the suffrage leaders, it entirely ignores the fact that many of the same leaders who are trying to secure suffrage in spite of the will of the majority of women, are also actively engaged in "peace at any price propaganda," by which they would, if they could, leave the majority as defenseless against a foreign foe as against feminism. (See Preparedness and Pacifism, page 19.)

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October, 1916

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

THE REGISTRATION OF WOMEN

THE registration of women over twenty-one in Ohio, which is now being conducted by the Ohio Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, "will prove beyond question the truth that only a noisy minority of the women want the vote," says Mrs. H. E. Talbot.

In Cincinnati and Hamilton County over 40,000 women have registered as antis. In Dayton the canvass shows 658 neutrals, 1,788 suffragists and 20,168 antis.

These Ohio enrollments are equivalent to a canvass which would give the number of women opposed to suffrage in the metropolitan district of New York as over 600,000, and for the State as over 900,000.

The suffragists have never succeeded in making an enrollment one-fourth as extensive as this. The New York Woman Suffrage Party, which does not restrict its membership to women, nor apply an age limit, claims an enrollment of 212,000 (men and women). During the campaign in New York from January to October 60,000 of these names were gathered, or about one-tenth what it would have required to enroll a number of New York women equivalent to the proportion of antis enrolled in Ohio. There is no doubt that the enrollments in Dayton and Cincinnati can be duplicated in other sections of the country.

The Ohio house-to-house registration, we believe, is the first attempt to make a comprehensive canvass of the women over twenty-one who are opposed to woman suffrage. Members have been enrolled, usually, in only a casual manner. In several of the smaller cities of other States, the canvass was stopped whenever the antis obtained the signatures of the majority of local women over twenty-one. In some instances, canvassing committees have even neglected to turn in their lists to the State association. One lost list, it is said, contained the names of over 50,000 women! Under the circumstances, an enrollment of over 350,000 women in the associations at present is remarkable. But thorough-going methods would raise the enrollment to millions.

These registrations would probably prove well worth their cost, and would give each State and local association a big list of persons who could be depended upon for support when campaigns come up.

With an enrollment of over ten million women as opposed to suffrage—which the Ohio canvass would give if applied to the entire country—the death knell of the feminist movement would be sounded. The "woman's hour" would strike—and strike hard—against all attempts to make woman an imitation of man.

It is interesting to note in a recent issue of *The Suffragist*, official organ of the Woman's Party and Congressional Union, that a number of family divisions have occurred between woman members and their husbands.

When anti-suffragists charge that political differences introduce a new element of discord into the family, suffragists always retort that there is no serious instance on record, as blandly as they claim that there is no instance on record where woman suffrage led to divorce. No matter how often such instances are printed in the regular newspapers, the next suffragist denies it just as vociferously. It will be hard, however, to dispute the testimony of *The Suffragist* in respect to the family differences among members of the Congressional Union.

POLITICS AND UNREMITTING DRUDGERY

THE editor of the *Saturday Evening Post* in one of his recent editorials makes naive confession as to why he favors woman suffrage.

"What politics requires," he states, "is an enormous amount of patient, unremitting drudgery; forever agitating and organizing, pegging away at this salient and that sector day in and day out, coming up smiling after every defeat. Experience here and there indicates that women will do better than men with local politics. Perhaps this is because, being new to politics, they are willing to do the drudgery. * * * We should like to turn part of our local politics over to women."

For sometime we have suspected some men of wanting to "get out from under." *O temporal! O mores!* Verily this is a chivalrous age. In addition to bearing children for the nation's strength and rearing them for its honor and glory women should become pack-mules and enter into a field which requires "an enormous amount of patient, unremitting drudgery." Webster's definition of unremitting is "incessant; continued; not abating." Yet this learned gentleman, in full possession of all that politics means, and who admits the fact, is willing, even anxious, to shift his part of the load to the shoulders of women in order that he may have a little more time at his disposal. We wonder whether he has any little kiddies in his home requiring attention of which "unremitting drudgery" in an alien direction would leave them half-orphaned—verily, we wot not.

Caro Lloyd, in an article in the *Woman's Journal*, sends skyward the following petition: "How long, O Lord, will the men of this country continue to refuse to tap this wealth of fresh energy, ability, enthusiasm which is surging up in the womanhood of the world!"

That chivalry still lives in hearts of men is why this enormous amount of drudgery has not been imposed upon women. Because men see constantly before them living evidences of overstrain, nerve exhaustion and other ills which modern life imposes upon the weaker sex; then, too, more and more they realize the value of the child as a potential factor of the future. Civilization cannot progress where there is a surplus of the unfit. Hospitals, culture clubs and economic laws all combined cannot give to the child what a mother alone can supply any more than surgery can create brains in the subnormal. To tap the energy of the womanhood of the world, to tax it with an "enormous amount of patient unremitting drudgery" merely to relieve men of their burdens and "to end the contest promptly" augurs poorly for those who express such undemocratic and unchivalrous statements.

—Florence Goff Schwarz.

WOMAN THE HELPMATE

By MRS. EDMUND PENNINGTON

President, Minneapolis Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

NATURE teaches us that permanent growth is slow, almost imperceptible. Our Anti-suffrage Association has grown in the same gradual but deliberate way and many are doubtless astonished to see it already so strong and far-reaching.

It is said "An empty vessel makes the most sound." If our great anti-suffrage ship has ploughed quietly the turbulent ocean of present-day conditions it is a sign the cargo is heavy. The enthusiastic manner in which the supporters of the "WOMAN'S PROTEST" have organized and quietly carried on a remarkable work shows the direction and current of the wind in our beautiful State of Minnesota. However, in times when each day has its isms and each week its 'ology—when dictionaries a few years old ignore the familiar word "feminist"—it may be a real novelty to fix our attention upon elementary conditions of nature, and face a few stubborn facts. The truth, eternally old, must sometimes be the fashion—as the hat worn twenty years by a woman of the old school found itself at the top of the style three times.

I shall tell you nothing new, nor is it my aim to convince you by argument, so much as to seek the eternally new in the eternally old. The "woman question" has come to a stage when every logical mind has been reasoned back to first principles, which can be answered only by the simple word "because," sometimes contemptuously called "woman's reason," but so often right, with the unerring certainty of intuition, that history tells us Caesar heeded Calpurnia's warning, and Pilate grew pale at his wife's words: "Have thou nothing to do with this man." Why do we find in nature, the positive and negative poles? Because! Why do we find in force, the active and passive? Because! Why do we find in numbers plus and minus? Because! Why do we find in the prism complementary colors? Because! Why do we find in the human race men and women? Because! Yes, when we reach the last "why?" in a long series, when we have reached the "woman's reason," "because," we stand face to face with first principles, we are in the presence of nature's inexorable laws, of man's relation to his Creator. It is here sane, thoughtful, normal women halt and beg every woman to study the ultimate of life, by placing her ear against the throbbing heart of Nature—thus to learn—not only what is impossible for her—but the path of victory and the meaning of liberty.

We recognize in the suffrage ranks many magnificent women—self-sacrificing, earnest, philanthropic—who are spending themselves in that work because they sincerely believe franchise is the remedy for all the trouble, and evils besetting the path of women to-day. But we also see that the emotional nature of woman has carried many suffragists to the disgraceful conduct of the militant, and the repelling doctrine of the feminist. Where would emotionalism carry these women in the political arena? Would the militant accept the will of the majority? Would the feminist not destroy the ideals that have grown with the triumphs of civilization and Christianity?

We also are seeking a remedy for the injustices and wrongs that beset the path of women. Our object is the same as theirs. We are not protesting against franchise directly. If their principles can be fairly proven to lead to woman's best emancipation, or to her most rational influence—to the city of true peace—we shall all fall in line. We are protesting against the sacrilegious license and Babylonian confusion to which suffrage seems to be leading. To us the ballot-box idea seems held so near—it hides the great scope and glorious mission of woman's world outside and beyond it. Is there any actual relation between woman's personal world and franchise? Could woman's sphere be enlarged or strengthened by the ballot-box?

This brings us to the consideration of that time-worn expression "woman's sphere." The word "sphere" in this connection is not a happy selection, for it suggests ceaseless revolution in a determined orbit—unchanging routine. The application of the word to woman's activity—because of its erroneous interpretation and superficiality—arouses a determination not to submit—a sense of suffocation. Woman is perfectly conscious that no limit can be placed upon the radii of her mind and heart—they reach to infinite truth and infinite goodness. To bring peace and happiness to women we must have a deeper, fuller understanding of woman's nature and give her an opportunity for the expansion and growth of her faculties. Then we must recognize the element in which such growth is possible—take into it all "modern improvements," and finally win women back to live and rule in it.

We anti-suffragists do not protest against suffrage or anything else that may help the condition of women and restore peace and unity to the women of our land—but we do protest against suffrage and *everything* that may tend to foster difficulties, protract restlessness and bring endless contention. We see the peculiar positions in which women find themselves to-day, we feel the feminine unrest with which all womanhood seems to tremble, we hear the heartrending cries from overtired, struggling, bread-winning sisters and we feel the overpowering circumstances which call aloud for readjustment. We recognize the crisis is at hand—we are willing, indeed eager to launch out and courageously, enthusiastically give a helping hand. With all our energy we wish to strive to bring peace to every woman's heart and to save the dignity of true womanhood. But we must be sane in our endeavor and wise in our enthusiasms. What we wish is to find some pathway that will lead women to pure air in which their womanly natures can breathe freely and their womanly minds see clearly.

"After all," says Mr. E. S. Martin, "what chiefly makes the disturbance is enlargement of opportunities, and in many respects disturbance is a fine thing. The current of unrest is a big disturbance, but every storm blows out in time and so will this one—but how will it end and where will it leave us?"

Further, "the disturbance has brought us a wider field of labor for women, a greater appreciation of the possibilities and activities of women." Certainly this is an immense gain and bound to come in the providential unfolding of woman's powers. It is not this disturbance against which we protest, for it is only these gales that push us forward. What, then, is the trouble?

Woman's suffrage stands for "equal rights," which means competition in man's kingdom. This is against nature and might not the inevitable result of such an attempt be social, moral and religious anarchy? As women, we must keep our eyes well fixed on our real destiny—on Nature's eternal truths—and not strand ourselves on the sand-bars of a passing hour.

Women have a larger choice than they had formerly—and we are grateful; but in the broadening of their field of labor women seem to rebel against any limitation. With all choice placed before them, many refuse to acknowledge that Nature has a primal law, or any true demand. But woman must remain woman, with a woman's nature. She can be happy in any occupation to which her capacity entitles her if she be true to that nature. By seeking equality in the realm of man, she cannot change her nature. By ignoring or repudiating her femininity, she may create for herself a veritable Hades on earth.

On the contrary, if she recognizes the undeniable fact that her physical obligation to the human race creates the limitation

of her activities and is more than offset by the spiritual acquisition it should bring, she makes herself the center of a physical and spiritual orbit of which earth is the smaller part.

Let us ask ourselves—What do the majority of women know about the nature of woman—her destiny in earth's plan—her stewardship? The conditions created by the whirl of excitement, so characteristic of the times, are not conducive to a calm and serious answer to such questions.

If we could wisely be content to perfect our own nature, rather than foolishly strive to change it—the answer might be easier. Mr. Chesterton emphasizes the fact that "good comes of perfecting a nature, and change always works for evil." Legend and mythology both show the wonder-working done by friends of man—almost always representing the restoring of things and people to their proper shapes; but they did not say to man, "You are so good you ought to be a woman," or to woman—"You are so bothered, it is time you had a holiday as a man." On the other hand, popular tales of bad magic are especially full of the idea that evil destroys personality. The denial of identity is the signature of black art.

Let us look at the question impersonally, not taking individual examples, but types illustrating the great law of womanhood. Not a woman, but woman.

If I want a man, says a literary critic, I go into the streets—they are full of them; but if I want man I go to literature, there we find the type—in the street we find the individual.

Types are historical as well as literary. Woman, historically, is the helpmate of man—both subject to the changes of the material changing world, and bound in the moral world by truth which is unchanging. "Helpmate indeed," sarcastically murmurs the "new" woman; but the true woman, ever ancient and ever new, looks deeper, and in the word "helpmate" reads not inferiority or equality, but superiority in the dignity of the moral nature.

It is quite evident that as a physical type she is not a helpmate. On the basis of strength—without the moral element—she may be made man's servant or even his slave. No one has yet been so bold as to assert that the feminine type is man's helpmate in the intellectual realm. The exceptions prove the rule. When woman strives to become the mate—intellectually only and not morally, in most cases she does not rise to man's level, but remains only his "helper"—more than help but less than helpmate.

It has been said that the majority of women in the away-from-home-employments are "helpers." The principals, the ruling workers, are almost all men. Lawyers' offices are full of women—extremely competent and useful—but there are few women lawyers. There are women trained nurses, but comparatively few women doctors. There are many girls on the floors of the department stores, but a woman in the firm is a great rarity. What is the reason? Does it mean that women have not yet their full dues in industry? Yes, to some extent no doubt. Does it mean women are not equals of men? No, it does not necessarily mean this. It means emphatically that the away-from-home atmosphere is not the atmosphere of her specific growth—it is not the field of the influence essentially hers.

Where, then, can woman fulfil her destiny? Where can she be truly the helpmate of man?

Can we reasonably hold the unstable opinion of a day as against the testimony of the ages? Can we safely abide by the hysterical outbursts of journalism as against the calm voice of history? We cannot, or certainly we will not be vain enough to place our little personal opinion against the united sentence of judges and councils of all time. If we will be true to ourselves and listen earnestly to the testimony of our own consciousness, I am sure women will unanimously proclaim, that only in the moral realm is woman the helpmate of man. "You cannot think," Ruskin says, "that the buckling on of an armor by his lady's hand is a mere caprice of romantic fashion. It is the type of an eternal truth, that the soul's armor is never well set to the heart unless a woman's hand has braced it, and it is

only when she braces it loosely that the honor of womanhood fails."

The sooner we come back to the truth of the complementary elements in men and women, the sooner stable readjustments will be made, each acknowledging that mutual happiness, well being and perfection rests in this interdependence. "Useless each without the other." The sooner all reasoning is based upon the fundamental premise that man and woman are not identical, the sooner true conclusions will be reached. It is so self-evident that woman's power is essentially in the moral world—it seems ridiculous to be insistent. The truth commends itself so directly to one's knowledge of what has been, and one's delicate instinct of what should be. But look at the world about us—do the difficulties and problems of woman seem to be working themselves out in accordance with the first principles of woman's nature? Man and woman are not separate creatures, each complete in itself, but are plainly and distinctly complementary parts of a great unity—the human race. "God created man in his own image, in the image of God created He him, male and female created He them."

The narrow, suffocating idea is thrown aside, and woman remains in her sphere as long as she is complementary to man and, as his helpmate, is fulfilling her specific purpose in the providence of God.

If, within the walks of a humble home, she is the moral support of her husband, the example of virtue to her children, the sustaining influence of her father, she is in her sphere. If her mental capacity leads her to college, if necessity draws her into a business career, if the suffering of humanity urges her into the slums of a city, if in prison work she strives to help desperate criminals—if she kneels beside the dying on the battlefield—if, indeed, like Joan of Arc, she leads armies to victory, she is still in her sphere if she be the helpmate, the moral support, the example of virtue, the sustaining influence of man.

Women then is the helpmate of man in the moral world—therefore she must be equipped with moral weapons. She is the complement of man, therefore, only by the education and perfection of her specific qualities, will she complete man and tend to the perfection of the human race.

Fifty years ago co-equal education began, and the woman problem of to-day had its incipient birth. Women were deluded into an astonishing hallucination, thinking higher education could make them identical with men. That, by putting on the trappings of a man, his mental training, his suits, his walk, adopting his sports, her feminine could become identical with his masculine nature. From this equality in education—equality in externals—the hallucination has gone on until now equality in business, equality in politics, equality in morality are leading women into alarming extremes of thought. These express themselves in the mental and moral attitudes of the feminist and the destructive acts of the militant.

At its beginning the possibility of a discordant note in woman's co-equal development was recognized both by genius and religion.

Ruskin spoke his word of warning—he heard with prophetic ear the noise and tumult which would follow, and said to speak of equality was absurd "as if things dissimilar could be compared." His words, spoken then, are no longer prophecy—they carry the conviction of verified truth. Of man and woman he says—"Their respective characters are briefly these—the man's power is active, progressive, defensive; he is eminently the doer—the creator, the discoverer—the defender; his intellect is for speculation, invention, his energy for adventure, for war, for conquest. Woman's power is for rule, not for battle—her intellect is not for invention or creation, but for sweet ordering, arrangement and decision." How, then, should woman be educated? Again Ruskin gives the answer, and experience to the contrary, through fifty years, still educators and careful thinkers are coming back to his interpretation—"A girl's education should be nearly, in its course and material of study, the same as a boy's; but quite differently directed; a woman in any rank of life ought to know whatever her husband

knows, but to know it in a different way. His command of it should be fundamental and progressive; hers general and accomplished for daily use. There is a wide difference between elementary knowledge and superficial knowledge, between a firm beginning and an infirm attempt at compassing. A woman may always help her husband by what she knows, however little, but by what she half knows, or misknows, she will only tease him." Has not each one of us, in her own experience or observation, realized the truth of this?

We know there are exceptional women possessing masculine intellects, and if a woman can develop her mind on lines marked out for men, without sacrificing any of her womanly qualities—who would deny her? There are flying fish, but who, because of this, will declare that water is not the element of fish in general—or who would compel fish with wings never to leap into the air? However, even the winged fish is not a bird and is far more beautiful and far more at home in the depths of the sea. Because some fish can fly, should all fish be required to live in an element not their own? Let us learn the lesson from the number of women we see struggling and straining in an element not their own. Remember, it is not the increase of knowledge or the development of the intellect that destroys womanliness; but the narrow heart—and vacillating will, the stunted growth of moral qualities.

It is the object of schools to turn out womanly women—and only insofar as they accomplish this object are they worthy of the name. Let us pay due reverence to the "Three R's," "Reading, Riting and Rithmetic," but let us demand respect for the "Three H's," "Hands, Head, Heart." Whether our girls speak one foreign language or ten, let them understand the language of the human heart and be able to show kindness to all. Let them study deeply and earnestly the history of other times and countries, but let them be able to sympathize with the history which is being determined in the circumstances and struggles at their own door—within the threshold of their own homes. Let them study the stars and calculate the eclipses, if they will—but let them first brighten the darkness of this world and see justice and reason behind the blinding nearness of circumstances. Let them feel the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. In a word, let them ever and above all have religion in the heart, as well as minds stored with knowledge.

Let us beware of education tending to change woman's nature rather than perfect it. Sidney Smith spoke wisely when he said: "Be what Nature intended you for and you will succeed; be anything else and you will be ten thousand times worse than nothing." Let us improve—develop every faculty we have—not burying a single talent. If we have the opportunity and means, let us soar even to the heights of the higher—yes, highest education—but for the sake of ourselves—our children—our country—let us remain womanly women, accepting our place in Nature's plan, our destiny, if you will, and the limitations it brings.

Certain fellowships of belief move side by side with the suffrage movement because the majority of those foremost in their ranks follow the suffrage banner, and every thinking person must at least suspect the relationship of cause and effect, though unable to distinguish which is which.

Feminism may not be a part of suffrage; but who will deny that suffrage is a part of feminism? Many of the suffrage leaders are feminists; they have led followers to suffrage and are now leading them to feminism, the "Ballot" being a mere way station.

The suffragists have been crying for the past three years—"The socialists are our friends, we welcome them not only as individuals, but as a political party. Why shouldn't we?" The socialist banner was carried in the suffrage parade in Washington. Socialists have been given honored places on the suffrage platform. What does all this mean? Would the suffragist

destroy, not only the ideal of the home, but also the fundamental principles of our government, for the sake of the power of the ballot?

Commenting on suffrage in Colorado, the *New York Sun* says: "Women have voted on equal terms with men in Colorado since 1893. Yet the government of Colorado in the past eleven years, has gone to pieces in a manner not in any way like the breakdowns in other States. *It has failed in its fundamental duty—the obligation to preserve public order.* The votes of women seem to have left the State where it was—it does not appear to be better administered than its neighbors.

Collier's Weekly, commenting, says: "The trouble in Colorado comes from the absolute failure of government." Mormon influence is strongest in Utah and Idaho; in these States women have had the vote since 1896. Are the States in which suffrage exists raising woman in her Christian dignity? We need not multiply examples of conditions in suffrage States—or evidence of evils which seem to accompany suffrage, if indeed they be not its consequences.

It is not my purpose to make any exhaustive argument against woman's suffrage; but to speak of it only as it bears upon my deep, heartfelt conviction that woman's sphere is in the moral world, and that her freedom and happiness, whatever may be her circumstances in life, depend upon her recognition of this fact. While suffrage may not be identical with the repelling beliefs advanced by some of our women to-day, it is hand in hand with them. Therefore, we must protest with all the earnestness of our minds and hearts and souls against anything that seems, directly or indirectly, to lead to the moral degradation of women.

Miss Sewell says her reasons for being against woman suffrage are not "in the smallest degree based on the assumption that women are not equal to men, but merely that men and women are not identical," and that "no electorate has ever existed, or even can exist, which cannot execute its own laws." "No voter has ever claimed or ever can claim maintenance from another voter." "It is my hope and belief," she says, "that the sound good sense of American women will defend them from suffrage and protect their property privileges, their right to maintenance from their husbands and their personal dignity. I believe the most important factors of the State are the wives and mothers who make men good citizens, to govern and protect the State."

Here is expressed a belief in the womanhood of America and a hope for her future which I am sure is re-echoed in every woman's heart. Let us unite to save the true nature of womanhood—the dignity of motherhood—the unity of the family and the influence of the home. How? Let us declare ourselves, not only by words, but by our actions—let us demand morality in the theaters where we and our daughters seek entertainment; let us wage war against immoral posters and extravagant shop windows—let us make the woman wage earner less necessary by making marriage more possible, and marriage more possible by making economy respectable and extravagance vulgar. You may smile and say—"beautiful sentiments, but theory." Can it not be made practical? Individually we are helpless against these forces, but if each one will pledge herself to join a crusade—not alone against suffrage, but against beliefs and abuses that threaten the true nature of womanhood and the influence of the family and the home, we may rescue the Holy Land of woman's moral Kingdom.

Let us try. Facts, the fundamental principles of Nature and religion, all support us. We realize our limitations—they are in part those belonging to this old world, with centuries of time stamped upon it; but in our day and generation we hope and pray to be of some service in bringing back woman to a normal condition and in maintaining the steadfastness and purity of our American womanhood.

THE OUTLOOK FOR SUFFRAGE

By MRS. MABEL G. MILLARD,
President, Burlington (Iowa) Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.
(From the New York Times)

MRS. CATT, in her article in the *Times* of September 3d, exhibits a hopeful spirit which can hardly have been inspired by the facts of the case. One reads with a gasp of astonishment her statement that suffragists "know that their hour has struck," and that "victory is at hand and within our reach."

Within the year five important States representing nearly one-fourth of the Electoral College have rejected equal suffrage by popular vote, making fourteen such defeats since the formation of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage in 1911.

In Iowa the sentiment was decidedly pro-suffrage a few months before election. Men said, with careless and kindly indulgence, "Oh, if women want the vote we may as well let them have it." In those few months they learned: First, that most women do not want the vote, but regard it as an unjust burden; second, that they do not need the vote; third, that the vote would hurt and not help them and the State, and, last, they had an object lesson in the effect of politics on women. In the end suffrage was defeated by a majority of more than 10,000, and that majority, it is generally thought, would be bigger to-day.

The slogan which has been reiterated until it has had a certain hypnotic influence on the not too inquiring mind, "Suffrage Is Coming," has no foundation in probability. The thoughtful voter is awakening to its menace; to its failure in Colorado, Washington and California; to the emptiness of its promises of better government, based, as it is, on the theory that women are morally and intellectually superior to men, and therefore easily able to solve the great political and social problems which are baffling our most experienced statesmen; to the futility of its threats of vengeance on non-supporters, which require for their fulfillment a solid woman's party, which has never materialized and never will materialize. He is beginning to wonder why the suffragists, who claim to represent a tremendous majority of American women, are obstinately and inexorably opposed to referring the question to those same women. Men are beginning to feel a little hurt, though still surprisingly patient, at the showers of abuse suffragists are pouring upon them as an explanation of their need of legislating for themselves if they are to have "fair treatment." And the worm will turn!

Mrs. Catt expects the suffrage to be given to women in European countries as a reward for their splendid work in unaccus-

tomed fields. It will hardly be regarded in the light of a "reward" by most of them. The anti-suffragists of England sent out post-cards to 135,481 municipal women voters asking them whether or not they believed women should have the parliamentary vote. Only 21,725 of them said "yes"—about 2 in 13. Are eleven-thirtieths of the English women, who have bravely and nobly answered their country's call by doing men's work while the men are at the front, to be punished by the infliction upon them of an undesired burden?

Can it be supposed that the large majority of these women will not give up with relief the heavy and exhausting work they are doing so uncomplainingly when the close of the war allows them to return to their homes? Already the effect of these necessarily neglected homes has been felt in the increase of mortality and delinquency among children.

Suffrage is not coming. It will not come as long as the great mass of American women appreciate the dignity and value of the work they are doing day after day in their homes and outside them, and as long as men honor and protect them in that work.

Professor G. T. W. Patrick, in his "Psychology of Relaxation," gives perhaps the fundamental reason for condemnation of the entire feminist movement:

"The present age is an intensely masculine age. * * * Woman, with her centripetal character, her greater calm and poise and relaxation, her conservation and her conservatism, has until now been the needful balance wheel, the conserving force. If feminism were what the word would indicate there would be some hope in that direction. But apparently it means that woman is to become masculine, and surely the world is already masculine enough. It is characteristic of our times to be expansive, centrifugal, iconoclastic, self-conscious and nervous. It is a time of labor, of endeavor, of effort, of expenditure, of adaptation and of change. These are all masculine motives, and their tendency is not toward peace or freedom or attractiveness or reserve of power or conservation of forces. Dionysius is the god of this country. Apollo we have forgotten. The Dionysian motive, the motive of the strenuous life, is not tempered, as it was among the Greeks, by the Apollonian motive of balance, harmony and repose."

ANOTHER SUFFRAGE STORY SPOILED

THE Women's Anti-suffrage Association of South Dakota recently issued from headquarters at Pierre a telegram from Attorney-General Gregory at Washington, denying the statement of the suffragists that many brewers in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and elsewhere had been indicted for violating the Federal Income Tax Law by charging contributions to anti-suffrage and other political workers as expense fund. The Attorney-General says a Pennsylvania brewer has been indicted for making corporate political contributions, but that the indictment does not allege he made any contributions to anti-suffrage organization. The correspondence follows:

Pierre, S. D., September 25, 1916.

HON. THOS. W. GREGORY,
Attorney-General of the United States.

Dear Sir: The following statement, the substance of which has been printed and spoken in various parts of the country this year, appeared editorially in the *Pierre Capital-Journal* of September 9, 1916:

"At the present time there are a whole lot of brewers in Pennsylvania and New Jersey and elsewhere in the East, under indictment in the United States Court for making false returns on Federal Income Tax because of their including contributions to anti-suffrage and other political workers as expense fund."

On receipt of this letter, kindly wire, at my expense, stating whether or not the assertion here quoted is true. Do the records of the Department of Justice show that certain brewers in the States mentioned have been indicted for making false returns concerning the income tax? Do the indictments allege that these false returns involved the illegal charging to expense fund of contributions made to organization formed to oppose woman suffrage? Do they name these organizations, and, if so, will you kindly state their names and places of business?

As this subject is one of great and general interest in South Dakota just at the present time, I trust it will receive your prompt attention.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) ETHEL C. JACOBSEN,

Secretary Woman's Anti-Suffrage Association of South Dakota.

(Attorney-General T. W. Gregory's reply)

Washington, D. C., September 28, 1916.

Your letter, September 25th. No indictments save in Pennsylvania and none for making false income returns, but only for corporate political contributions. Indictments do not specify that anti-suffrage organizations were recipients of contributions.

T. W. GREGORY, Attorney-General.

DEBATES AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

PROBABLY nowhere does woman suffrage reveal its weaknesses so much as in debate. Debates on this question are generally so advantageous to the anti-suffragists that at the present time the suffragists avoid them altogether.

In 1914, as many *PROTEST* readers will remember, a three-cornered debate was held on woman suffrage by the leading debating teams of Yale, Harvard and Princeton. Each university had one team for and one team against. The debates, of course, took place between the opposing teams of different universities in each instance. Yet the anti-suffrage side won all three contests! In neither Yale, Harvard nor Princeton could suffrage find a team of debaters that could answer the arguments of the antis from any of the universities.

Since that time, many debates have been held, most of which have been won by the anti-suffrage representatives.

As a result, the National American Woman Suffrage Association has adopted a deliberate policy to avoid debates.

When we consider the reasons given for the adoption of this policy, it will become apparent why suffrage is so weak in debate.

"The suffrage question is not debatable," is one of the excuses.

"Debates do our cause no good," is another.

"We will not debate with women. Woman suffrage is not a woman's question, but a question between men and women," is a third.

Other excuses are even more amusing. For instance, Miss Marjorie Dorman, who has been the most constant challenger of the suffragists to debate, was avoided by one New Jersey suffrage leader on the grounds that she was a "paid professional." Going a little further in the same State, Miss Dorman again issued the challenge. The local suffrage leader replied that as Miss Dorman was "merely an amateur" the debate would not prove worth while.

At the recent Atlantic City convention of the National Suffrage Association, where 400 representatives of the best talent, ability and eloquence that the suffrage movement can produce in the United States were gathered together, Miss Dorman thought that the suffragists might change their minds about debates with the antis.

The antis had a shop on the Garden Pier, and used the band stand as a platform and the open-air auditorium in front of Keith's theater when speeches were made.

As the suffragists had just held what they called a "three-cornered debate," Miss Dorman, under the impression that they might be willing to discuss both sides of the question, sent them the following challenge:

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
President National American Woman Suffrage Association,
Nixon Theater, Atlantic City.

Dear Madam:

Yesterday your association held an interesting three-cornered debate on a suffrage policy.

As this debate revealed that there is little difference of opinion in suffrage circles on the question, I believe that a debate, representing the actual division among women on the subject of suffrage would be of more interest to the general public whom you invite to your convention.

Thus, the fourth corner of the debate would be heard, and the opinions of all women would get a "square deal."

Being one of the majority of women who, as one of your speakers said yesterday, are "unfortunately too well treated to want to vote," I would like to present the anti-suffrage viewpoint at a debate to be held this evening at one of the theaters or any other place we may find mutually satisfactory.

(Signed) MARJORIE DORMAN.

When asked by a reporter if she would accept if the suffragists should take up the challenge and conduct the debate in their own convention, Miss Dorman replied:

I would rather like to "beard the lion in his den," but I realize that the convention has no such debate on its program and do not suggest anything of that sort. I would not try to interfere with their convention under any circumstances. It would be discourteous and contrary to our policy to do so.

But there are over 300 suffrage speakers here, and I should think that at least one of them—any one—would take up this challenge. The debate could be held when the convention is not in session.

No reply was received to Miss Dorman's challenge. "It would do our cause no good," was the excuse given the reporter for the *New York Times*. That evening, about an hour before beginning her address at the Garden Pier, Miss Dorman sent a personal representative to the suffragists with another copy of the challenge. It was delivered to a member of the suffrage information Bureau, who promptly took it to the proper authorities. Then, half an hour before beginning her talk, Miss Dorman announced that after the next band concert there would be a debate—if the suffragists got there representative on hand.

When she rose to address the audience, Miss Dorman asked three times if the suffrage representative had arrived. She had not.

The challenge was thus repeated publicly before each address that Miss Dorman made for three days, but no suffragist appeared.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Catt, shortly after receiving the challenge, said in her long speech that "some of these women are growing increasingly bold in their unspeakable treachery to their sex" and devoted a large part of her speech to the liquor charge. Another woman speaker at the convention devoted her entire time to the liquor charge. Yet the "cause" felt it would do "no good" to bring it up at a debate where *both sides* could get a hearing. Suffragists do not find it possible to "put over" extreme mis-statements about their opponents in debates, without getting caught at it.

A NEW NAME TO MAKE SUFFRAGE MORE SWEET?

Will "votes-for-women" sound more sweetly if called "*Oyes*"? This question is prompted by the fact that a group of women have decided to publish a monthly magazine of that name, which, if deductive reasoning can be applied to any feminist activity, will be devoted principally to obtaining woman suffrage. Its managing editor, according to the *New York Sun*, "frankly admits that its chief object is to draw the attention of women to their complete lack of legal status."

As the managing editor is a counsellor-of-law herself, it would be interesting to learn how a woman handicapped by a "complete lack of legal status" became a lawyer. If the "chief object" of the new publication is to draw the attention of women to statements about the laws as loose and absurd as this, it will make no more headway than the ceaseless complaints of the suffragists for sixty-seven years against "man-made laws."

"Wives under the laws of all States seem to be in special disfavor" is another bit of free misinformation furnished by the

managing editor. A regular man member of the bar—if he could get a hearing—might "draw the attention" of these women to the fact that husbands, under the law, are held to much more "strict accountability" than wives.

We are also told that "according to Mrs. Bres (managing editor) probably nothing can change these laws until women have the vote."

If nothing but the vote can change the law, *Oyes* is not trying to change it by appealing to public opinion, as the law so often has been changed in favor of women—but is working whole heartedly for "votes for women." However, the new suffrage publication, with the new name, may be an improvement on the old. *PROTEST* readers will no doubt be glad that the "cause" of woman suffrage now has an organ which promises to publish something besides the liquor accusations. It will be refreshing, for a change, to thresh out again "The Legal Status of Women"—or the alleged lack of it.

"WHY ARE YOU AN ANTI-SUFFRAGIST?"

A Reply by MRS. SIMEON H. GUILFORD,
Vice-President, Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

[The following letter ought to be interesting to new readers of the PROTEST who are not yet familiar with the basic anti-suffrage arguments. It should also prove valuable to well-informed anti-suffragists as a model of fairness, clearness, brevity, tolerance and tact in answering the oft-repeated question: "Why are you an anti-suffragist?"

It was written by Mrs. Guilford as an answer to this question from a friend.—EDITOR.]

MY Dear —:

You ask me why I am an anti, and say that your instinct has always been against woman suffrage, but of late you have heard arguments for it that make you distrust your intuition in the matter. You have been told that our government cannot be truly democratic with half of its people unrepresented; that suffrage is woman's natural right; that it is unjust for women to be taxed and have no voice in the disposition of the taxes; that thousands of educated women with an intelligent understanding of public affairs are humiliated by being classed with idiots and criminals, and men totally ignorant of the questions at issue are given the responsibility of the ballot.

All this is plausible, and quite enough to unsettle one who has given the matter little thought and no study, as you say of yourself. A few years ago the only opinion I had about it was the personal one of lack of time. Responsibility and work had always come in larger measure than time and strength; the responsibility and work that were my own share of the duties of life, of supreme importance to me and to my family; and service of worth, I had been taught and believed. My attitude toward woman suffrage was, like yours, simply instinct, and I had the feeling that the farmer's wife expressed on the subject: "Woman suffrage? I should say not. If there's one thing in this world that a man can do without a woman, in Heaven's name let him do it."

But in the past two years, since the question has been under discussion, I have given much thought and study to it, reading everything available on both sides, with the result that my unformulated belief has been greatly strengthened, and I now am able to state the reasons for the faith within me.

The arguments you quote are accepted and given out by the majority of suffragists, and are a fair sample of the superficial thought on which the movement is based. Ready-made opinions are, you know, quite as popular as ready-made clothing, both being labor saving, and these surface arguments are often accepted without any thought on the part of the hearer. I hope some time you will hear the vital, basic reasons that underlie the strong opposition that intelligent, thoughtful men and women are making to this revolutionary movement, so glibly called progressive and a great reform.

In the first place, I must beg you to consider the question in its large aspect; related to the normal, not the exceptional woman, for in a measure affecting all, it is the normal man or woman whose needs and welfare are considered. Many conscientious people have taken up woman suffrage from an exceptional point of view; but it is not the demand of the working women, nor that of the tax-paying women, nor the women of education that should be considered in this measure, simply the 80 per cent. of women who are, or have been married. It is the woman in the family who is the normal type, and the family, you will agree, is the unit of society and of the State.

First as to democracy. Since its cornerstone is the rule of the majority, it is surely difficult to find any trace of democracy in the attempts of the suffragists to force the ballot upon the millions of women who are either indifferent or actively opposing them. When the majority of women ask for the ballot, it may be counted a democratic measure.

Second as to the natural right. Women have a right to many

things which, like this, if it can be counted a right, would be unnecessary, wasteful and burdensome. But as sensible, patriotic citizens, we accept the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, that the ballot is *not* a natural right, but an expedient of government. Were it an inherent right, it could not be withheld from women, nor from the men of the Army and Navy, nor from the thousands of men whose homes are in the District of Columbia.

Third as to the payment of taxes. The franchise has absolutely no relation to the taxation of property. A man may pay taxes in a dozen communities, he votes in one; and are not those who pay nine-tenths of the taxes justly entitled and qualified to decide the tax rate and the disposition of the money collected? We all share alike, tax payers and non-tax payers, men, women and children, in the benefits of schools, police and fire protection, good roads and sanitary measures all paid for by the taxation of property.

Fourth. Were the ballot dependent upon education or an intelligent understanding of the issues at stake, there would be just cause for grievance on this point, and with this qualification many women should vote, and many men should be disfranchised. But limited suffrage has not been adopted; and since stability of government rests upon the ability of the majority to enforce its decisions, it is wise to leave the vote in the hands of those who have this qualification. Intelligent women have a large share in the making of public opinion, upon which legislation is framed, and ignorant and corrupt women now have little or no influence in public affairs, but with the vote, they will no longer be a negligible factor in politics. Even granting that the intelligent will be doubled (which is extremely doubtful), we must remember that doubling the factors of a problem does not affect its solution. The woman suffrage States have shown that when women vote at all it is on the same plane as men, and results are not changed.

I must emphasize, because it is most important, that the personal side of the question is a minor consideration. The franchise exists for the benefit of the State, not for the individual, although one might suppose the latter to be the case, in listening to suffrage arguments. The vote is looked upon as a sort of reward of merit, and is demanded by many for no better reason than "I want it."

It cannot be claimed as a measure of justice, for women have full protection in personal and property rights, and all educational advantages; they can engage in all occupations for which they are physically and mentally fitted, and exceptional women are appointed to political positions. All this has come without the ballot, which, sixty years ago, was believed to be the only key to the doors of liberty and progress for women, and the old arguments used then are refitted to modern needs. Then the ballot was demanded so that women might gain education and freedom; now it must be given because she *is* educated and *is* free. Then, as now, it was proclaimed the great reform that must precede all reform. Many good women believed that slavery would be abolished only through the votes of women, just as many good women to-day believe that their votes would destroy the evils of intemperance, and bring permanent peace to the world. Have you read Bayard Taylor's "Hannah Thurston"? Although written fifty years ago, it is a picture of woman suffrage to-day in an old-fashioned frame; the picture itself fits the framing of 1916 perfectly. We see the same types, the same lack of perspective and proportion. There is, however, one great change in the status of the movement that must be emphasized. For many years it was simply an academic question, now it is political, and can no longer be treated as lightly as our forefathers did the unsound vaporings and glittering generalities of the agitators of their

day. Our men must realize its importance, and wake up to their responsibility in the matter. They must know that the great majority of our twenty-five million women are not asking for the ballot because, like their mothers and their grandmothers, their problems and lifework lie outside of politics. Normal women now, as always, are making their homes and rearing their families, and with 93 per cent. of these homes managed without servants, they have neither time nor taste for politics, and know instinctively that such work for them would be effort worse than wasted. I am not thinking of the simple matter of going to the polls once or twice a year and dropping a piece of paper in a ballot box, which many argue is what is asked of us. No intelligent person opposes woman suffrage on that score, for if it means anything of value to the State, it means far more than that. We are told that the world needs women, and that women need the broadening that outside interests would bring into their lives, all of which we may agree to heartily. But it is equally true that the home needs women, and women need the home, and of the two propositions, this is the greater. In upholding this, we anti-suffragists are the true conservationists of the family and of society.

What I am writing you to-day is only from the primer of the subject, but I hope you will be convinced that common sense, duty and patriotism teach the wisdom of opposing this movement with courage, with intelligence and with strength.

THE BABBLING SUFFRAGISTS

YE presidential candidates,
We promise to deliver
Four million women from *Our States*
Sex-solid; all a quiver
To vote for him who boosts our cause.
But woe to him who flouts it:
A perfect avalanche of laws
Shall bury him who doubts it.
Too long have we been ruled by man,
Abused by man's transgression;
We shall, by preconcerted plan,
Attend each Congress session.
We're out to win the world to-day,
We never dream of stopping.
A stone, 'tis said, is worn away
Because of constant dropping.
We chatter, chatter as we go
That men may come to heed us;
Poor helpless ones they little know
How terribly they need us.
Ye presidential nominees
Ye both are in our power.
That time has passed, by some degrees,
Since "Knighthood Was in Flower."
Who makes the most attractive bid
Shall win the next election,
Because we women all will skid
Wholesale in his direction.
A million dollars have we pledged
That Congress be our quarry;
The Senate also, which has hedged,
Must knuckle or be sorry.
The universe is ours to know,
Surrender freedom? Never!
For men may come and men may go
But we go on forever.

—Florence Goff Schwarz.

ANGLING FOR WOMAN VOTERS

(From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*)

THE elephant made ready both with fishing-rod and bait;

This act the wily donkey quick resolved to imitate.

The Prohibition camel, which had long been in pursuit

Of floating woman voters, then decided to recruit.

The Socialistic zebra tossed his mane and said "Get out!

Wasn't I the first to angle for the woman suffrage trout?

I've hooked 'em and I've cooked 'em, they've nibbled at my line,

My bait has seemed to please 'em and I warn you they are MINE."

The elephant retorted, "You are baiting them with husks;

I've promised coast-wide freedom, I have sworn it by my tusks."

The Democratic donkey wagged his ears and hee'd and hawed,

"I'm for emancipation but, ahem, not quite so broad."

"The stream where I've been fishing was so dry they swam away."

Complained the Prohib. camel as he humped into the fray.

"I hoped for nets so heavy I could hardly drag them in,

But, coming to the surface they were light and lankly thin.

May I try your ponds, my brethren?" They chorused, "I decline.

Your stream was not successful, hanged if you can fish in mine."

So the Prohibition camel sought a river all his own

Since they had thus decreed it that he needs must fish alone.

They counted in November all the spoils which Time had brought.

The elephant said meekly, "Here is all the fish I caught."

Then to his three opponents—"You're to blame—with you in sight,

Your controversial fussing, why of course they wouldn't bite."

"You're wrong," flashed back the donkey, "we have failed to reach our goals

Because the blooming fishlets wouldn't congregate in shoals."

—F. G. S.

BLOCKED VOTES IN BLANK VERSE

THE Woman's Party, which is working
In the West
To defeat the Democrats
Is called
By Dr. Anna Howard Shaw
"A wonderful, big piece of bluff,"
And it is.

On the Fourth of July, in Washington,
Its officers
Heckled President Wilson
Because
They said that his party
Has blocked the Federal amendment,
And it has.

But the Woman's Party on June thirtieth,
Four days before,
Wrote a note
To Senator Charles S. Thomas
Begging him
To block the Federal amendment
And he did.

—J. S. E.

WHAT THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT MEANS

By MARY G. KILBRETH,

Chairman of the Congressional Committee, New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

HOW many men understand what the proposed Federal amendment means to them? Are they aware that the attempt to enfranchise women by means of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States is really an attempt to deprive them of their right to express by the ballot their opinion on this question?

The people do not vote on an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It must be passed first by the Congress at Washington and then goes to the legislatures of the States and is never submitted to the people. We all know that the decisions of legislative bodies often do not accord with the views of the majority of the voters; and it is evident that this form of decision is now urged with the express purpose of circumventing majority rule.

The following figures show the voters' verdict on this question:

	Population in 1910
United States.....	91,972,266
States recently defeating woman suffrage at the polls..	40,464,391
Male suffrage States.....	78,144,206
Woman suffrage States.....	8,198,469
Illinois (partial woman suffrage granted by legislators —not by vote of the people).....	5,638,591

In three States woman suffrage has been submitted twice to the people and in each there have been greatly increased majorities at the second vote.

In addition to the States recently defeating woman suffrage at the polls, twenty-two others have, through their legislatures, refused to consider the question.

These defeats have convinced suffragists that appeal to the people is useless, so they now resort to a Federal amendment because it is an appeal to politicians and never gets to the people.

Immediately after the defeat of woman suffrage by the four great eastern States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, a placard was displayed in the window of the Woman's Political Union in Fifth Avenue, New York, which read: "Men have lost—lost their chance to give justice to women. They will not have another. Woman suffrage will now be forced upon them by the Federal amendment in Congress, and ratified by the New York State Legislature." At the same time Prof. Charles Beard of Columbia University, addressing the Woman's Congressional Union, is reported by the New York Tribune of November 12th to have said: "Give no member of Congress any peace, night or day, until they pass the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution. * * * When they do that, their responsibility ends and they can have peace."

Briefly, a policy directed against National and State legislators with the object of making the representative misrepresent his constituents. The Federal amendment is the suffragists' admission of defeat by the voter. It practically disfranchises him by taking the matter out of his hands and putting it in the control of politicians. Protected by the secret ballot, the voter cannot be coerced, and the suffragists have again and again seen their pledged majorities dwindle away at the polls. Mrs. Ida Husted Harper said at the Suffrage Convention at Atlantic City (New York Evening Sun, September 6th), "Why were both Republican and Democratic conventions willing to favor woman suffrage through State action? Because they knew they were putting it off till doomsday. * * * We have had enough of appealing to the individual voter with his secret ballot." The gist of this whole matter is the suffragists' belief that the legislator can be bullied and terrorized.

The first result of this policy was the victory of the female

lobby over the New York legislators at Albany last winter. At the November election only one senatorial district and eleven assembly districts had gone for suffrage; hence, only one senator and eleven assemblymen could vote with authority for the resubmission of the State amendment to enfranchise women. Nevertheless, the motion carried. Only eleven of the fifty-one senators and thirty of the one hundred and fifty assemblymen voted "No."

Under present conditions the passage of the Federal amendment would be a betrayal of the voter, a blow at State rights and at the whole system of representative government which requires that the representative vote in accordance with the expressed will of the people.

It is an abuse of the Federal amendment to force woman suffrage upon the nation in defiance of the will of nearly three-fourths of the States containing more than four-fifths of the population.

Will voters submit to having this important change of government forced upon them by a nation-wide lobby?

They can only prevent it by bringing pressure to bear on their representatives in Washington and Albany to stand by their constituents and their party platform.

They should remember that if the New York National and State representatives—whether Democratic or Republican—vote for the Federal amendment it will be in flat contradiction to their party platform and to the will of their State expressed at the polls last November.

They should remember that both the Democratic and Republican platforms pronounced in favor of deciding this question by State, instead of National, action. Representatives must be made to know that their constituents are interested in their vote on this question and are watching them.

The voter must remember that he is practically disfranchised. That is why the amendment is being pushed.

Great pressure will be used on National and State representatives by the suffragists, and every voter who is opposed to the Federal amendment should so inform the candidates of his district and his candidates at the primaries.

This is all he can do, and it should be done at once.

"HOW THE VOTE WAS WON"

Extract from a Recent Article

By JOHN L. ENGBAHL

(Editor, American Socialist)

"Grant Miller, socialist candidate for United States Senator in Nevada, is credited more than any other one man with being responsible for the passage in 1914 of the constitutional amendment granting suffrage to women. As a result, the women are strong supporters of the socialist ticket this year."

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGNS

SOUTH DAKOTA

THE South Dakota campaign is progressing, and as it is the first of the six suffrage campaigns in which the women opposed have really taken any active part, or where there has been any organized work at all against suffrage, the suffragists have redoubled their activities.

The fact that the suffrage amendment is to be voted on at all this year is due to a breach of faith on the part of the suffragists. At a hearing during the last legislative session here the State suffrage president, Mrs. Pyle, distinctly stated that they had promised the anti-saloon league not to ask to have the suffrage amendment submitted to the voters this year, so as to leave a clear field for the prohibitionists, and have the ballot free from a complication of amendments. As an evasion, they asked for the legislature to grant them limited suffrage.

Our small auxiliary went before the legislature and argued against this, and defeated or helped to defeat the bill for limited suffrage. Of course, the suffragists refused to give us any credit for our work, but, as usual, claimed that the "liquor interests" were too much for them.

Having lost this bill, they broke their promise to the anti-saloon league, or wheedled them into overlooking their change of mind, and at once asked to have the amendment submitted. The legislature passed this bill, and so the suffragists are in the field, and if the prohibition amendment fails to carry this year, they will be largely to blame.

There is a strong prohibition sentiment in the State, but the mixing of the two issues, and the hypocritical attitude of many suffragists on the temperance issues, will tend to defeat both measures, we think. The W. C. T. U. is working far harder for suffrage than for the prohibition amendment. At the State fair the first of this month the booth of the W. C. T. U. and a tent that they had on the grounds were chiefly used to promote the suffrage cause, the decorations and souvenirs being mostly of the "Votes for Women" order. Instead of "vote dry" or "vote yes" on the prohibitory amendment, the badges they gave out said, "Votes for Women." The workers talked suffrage; all the speeches were more for suffrage than temperance.

Since if they gain prohibition this year, they cannot plead for suffrage on that score, it looks as if they were more anxious for suffrage at the expense of the prohibitory law, for fear they will not have that plea in another campaign. A. W. C. T. U. speaker came here recently and asked

the pastor of one of the churches for his pulpit one Sunday night that she might give a temperance lecture. He agreed, providing she did not introduce the subject of suffrage, because he did not want it brought into the pulpit, many of his leading members being opposed to it. She promised, and the minister warned her the last thing before going on the platform, "Remember, no suffrage talk," but she devoted the last part of the speech entirely to suffrage. The minister and anti-suffrage members were very indignant, but were too polite to leave the church while she was speaking.

The suffragists have been making a canvass this week for an endorsement of suffrage by the business men of the city, and when one declines to sign their paper they are insulting in some cases.

One young man was told, "So you are standing with Mrs. Jacobsen and the saloons, are you?" He replied with some spirit that he was very glad to stand with me.

The only argument they are using here to any extent is that the saloons are against them and that suffrage means prohibition and all good things.

They gave out some of their statements regarding the low rate of taxation in the woman suffrage States compared with that in States where women do not vote. We at once issued a reply showing them to be wrong and insincere as well. They afterward told one of our workers that that was quite a joke, as they had no intention of circulating that statement, only had a few copies and used them "to fill in." They had seen the light too late, however, and the voters have been pretty well informed as to their methods in that case.

The Minnesota, Nebraska and Dubuque, Iowa, associations have sent us a great deal of good literature which we are sending out as fast as possible.

We have opened headquarters in a Pierre office building where we have the work done, and we have a fine window for poster and pennant displays. The Minneapolis women sent us their excellent posters which they used at the Minnesota State fair and I find they attract a great deal of attention.

ETHEL C. JACOBSEN,
Secretary.

THE Woman's Anti-Suffrage Association of South Dakota has elected the following officers:

President—Mrs. Ernest Jackson, Dallas. Vice-Presidents—Mrs. Geo. B. Mansfield, Rapid City; Mrs. R. M. Wheeler, Hot Springs; Mrs. C. M. Barnes, Aberdeen; Mrs. M. R. Hinckley, Hoven. Secretary—Mrs. Elias Jacobsen, Pierre. Pierre Executive—President, Mrs. C. M. Hollister; Vice-President—Mrs. J. L. Lockhart; Treasurer

—Mrs. S. S. Ruble; Secretary—Mrs. E. Jacobsen. Literature Committee—Mrs. E. B. Northrup, Mrs. E. D. Morcom, Mrs. C. O. Bailey, Mrs. E. A. Howland, Mrs. M. D. Scott, Mrs. E. G. Kennedy, Mrs. John P. Bleeg, Mrs. C. C. Crandall, Mrs. Arthur Shepherd, Sioux Falls; Mrs. J. W. Campbell, Huron.

WEST VIRGINIA

ANTI-SUFFRAGE sentiment in West Virginia is growing rapidly. Branch organizations have been formed in various parts of the State, and meetings are more enthusiastic than in any other campaign, according to some of the speakers. Hundreds are unable to get into the crowded halls, in some instances, and it is estimated that the anti-suffrage majority will be great in proportion to the enthusiasm aroused.

The suffragists are going on with the campaign of liquor charges and personal abuse on which they seem to have concentrated this year. Nothing is too old or too ridiculous for them to repeat again and again, no matter how many times it is answered.

The Michigan incident—which was explained in the August PROTEST (page 14)—and the Montana incident, about which all the facts were published in the PROTEST in February and June, 1914, are constantly repeated with all the jugglery and suppression with which they first appeared in the so-called *Woman's Journal* two and three years ago. The "children of light" who are trying to "purify politics" never manifest sufficient intellectual honesty in telling these old tales to mention the important fact that their version has been denied under oath for two years, and that the denial has been published, perhaps, in five hundred different newspapers during that time. However, it is apparently the only argument the suffragists have left, and its reflex action does us more good than it does them. Bringing charges against your political opponent which you cannot prove is always a bad policy. The suffragists would realize it, perhaps, were they not under the strain of so much emotional excitement that their nerves are often in the condition of the hysterical woman who told her husband she should have to "throw something at him" or "burst out crying!"

Of course, the woman in such a state often does both of these things, but her aim is not usually accurate. It compares with the suffragist's mud throwing in that respect. And, perhaps, after the West Virginia campaign, suffrage tears also will flow—as they did at the suffrage convention at Chicago after the Iowa defeat.

CONNECTICUT

WITH the opening of the presidential campaign following the conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties in New Haven, the State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has planned a continuation of its publicity campaign at the various fairs held about the State, and from now until the end of October will have booths for the distribution of literature at every agricultural fair, including Danbury, Huntington, Rockville and Guilford. At Cornwall, Friday, there was a booth from which pamphlets, giving the arguments against woman suffrage, were given out by the workers in charge and a number of names were added to the membership lists of the State association, bringing the total membership to date well over 17,000.

With regard to the Democratic platform, it is noteworthy that although it declares for the referendum to the voters of the State on the issue, ex-Governor Simeon E. Baldwin, in a speech seconding the nomination of Judge Beardsley, quoted President Wilson's words at Long Branch: "Ladies, I am in favor of woman suffrage, but not in favor of forcing woman suffrage on any State that does not want it." This drew great applause from the delegates present, and the platform plank calls for the submission of the issue to the voters, but says nothing of the enactment of a constitutional amendment.

In spite of the advance reports sent out by the woman suffrage interests that the Republican convention adopted a platform containing a plank indorsing woman suffrage, the platform as adopted contains no reference whatever to the subject, as the result of the arguments put forward before the Committee on Resolutions by representative speakers from the Connecticut Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. As at the Republican convention last week, the association will have headquarters in New Haven for the coming Democratic convention, and will also go before the Resolutions Committee of that body with arguments against the adoption of a suffrage plank.

The association maintained headquarters at the Hotel Taft during the convention last week and so were able to get in touch with a number of the delegates to show them the strong opposition to woman suffrage which exists among the women of this State, in spite of "suffrage parades" and other demonstrations which apparently give the impression that women as a whole are in favor of voting. The suffrage parade did not bring out the 2,000 women which the advance notices claimed would march, and when the Resolutions Committee met, the anti-suffragists set forth their arguments so well that the committee took no action on the subject, being apparently uninfluenced by the suffrage "demonstration" arranged for their benefit.

MASSACHUSETTS

MASSACHUSETTS is organizing by Congressional districts and already quite half the State has been covered. Among those who have consented to serve as Congressional chairmen are: Mrs. Thomas Nelson Perkins of Westwood; Mrs. George R. Wallace, Sr., of Fitchburg; Mrs. B. A. Norton of Arlington; Mrs. Matthew Sullivan of Canton; Miss Eleanor W. Allen of Boston; Mrs. Oliver Howe of Cohasset; Mrs. Wm. P. Shreve and Mrs. Henry Preston White of Brookline.

Mrs. Edwin Ford presided at the first autumn meeting of the Education and Organization Committee held in September. Fitchburg, Bridgewater, Bedford, Manchester, Milton, Sherborn, Winchester, Arlington, Brookline, Chestnut Hill, Boston and Cambridge were represented. Great enthusiasm was manifested by all present and a most interesting program outlined for the coming fall and winter. An encouraging report was read from the chairman of the College Anti-Suffrage League, showing great strides in the work of that body. A number of meetings before college women have been planned for November. It is expected Miss Marjorie Dorman will speak at the first three of these meetings. The report of what had been accomplished generally through the summer evidenced an increasing interest in our own State as well as in the National work. A large amount of literature, cartoons, pencils, books and songs has been contributed to West Virginia, Alabama and Georgia. Anti-suffrage notes are being sent fortnightly to 425 newspapers in South Dakota, while requests for material for debates are coming in from all parts of the country.

During the summer we have issued, every two weeks, an anti-suffrage bulletin containing anti-suffrage news only. This has served to keep the branches closely in touch with the work of the National as well as with that of our own and other State associations. The bulletin has proved so helpful it has been decided to continue it through the winter.

Copies of "Anti-suffrage Essays" (which is in its second edition) have been placed in many college libraries by the chairman of the College Anti-suffrage League, and branch chairmen have been quite successful in placing this helpful little volume in the public libraries of our Massachusetts towns.

An attractive booth was opened at the Food Fair, in Boston, October 9th, and our women have been on duty day and evening to welcome all comers. Several new post-cards were placed on sale, as well as a 1917 anti-suffrage calendar; also our new cartoon, "Suffrage Speakers Say," which has proved very popular at home and abroad and is being used by a number of the State associations. A very dainty "recognition" pin has been designed.

NEW YORK

THE New York suffrage leaders must be greatly chagrined and disappointed over their failure to secure a plank endorsing woman suffrage in the State platforms of the two big political parties.

The Democratic platform re-affirmed that suffrage was a question to be settled by the people of each State, and advocated the re-submission of the woman suffrage amendment to the voters in 1917.

The Republicans, meeting at Saratoga on September 28th, merely inserted a plank for the re-submission in 1917, despite the fact that the Hon. Herbert Parsons, National Committeeman from New York State and other leaders of the Republican Campaign Committee fought hard to have the Committee on Resolutions insert a plank favoring woman suffrage, "because," to quote the *Evening Sun* of September 29th, "Parsons thought the adoption of a suffrage plank might help Mr. Hughes in the equal suffrage States."

The New York *Tribune* of September 29th said: "The woman suffrage leaders did not get all they wanted from the Republicans. * * * The women wanted a simple pure endorsement of votes for women as a party pledge, as well as a submission of the question by the next legislature."

The political leaders of both parties who have not been swept off their feet by the clamor of "votes for women" realized it would be a serious political mistake for either party to endorse, in their respective State platforms, a measure which had been rejected by the voters only last November by a majority of nearly 200,000.

The sentiment among the delegates at both conventions was that they were willing to have the woman suffrage amendment re-submitted in 1917 for the sake of increasing the majority against it. Greatly encouraged by this attitude on the part of the political leaders of the State, as expressed in the State platform, the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage is ready to enter upon a new campaign.

Never in the history of the work has there been a greater demand for anti-suffrage speakers from all parts of the State than there is at present. "We have heard the suffragists and now we want to hear the anti-suffragist side of the question." "Some of our people are for suffrage, but most of us don't believe in it." "There are some suffragists in our organization and they have put the organization on record as being for suffrage, but that doesn't mean that any great number will vote for suffrage. They will not. They don't like to fuss all the time and they can vote as they believe. They haven't changed any since last election."

This is the sort of thing we get on every hand and the association is hard pressed to supply speakers for all parts of the State

at once. Most of them are on tours in the two campaign States. Nearly two score requests for anti-suffrage speakers for organizations "up State" have had to be turned down, or held in abeyance until after the elections in other parts of the country.

An amusing account, typical of the spirit of the people, has just come in from Weedsport, an alert and enterprising town of 1,500 near Syracuse. A Red Letter day with a parade, carnival and open-air speaking was arranged to celebrate the paving of the main street. A suffrage official asked permission to speak, and the committee on arrangements asked for an anti-suffrage speaker to make it a debate. The chairman of the committee on arrangements reports as follows: "Miss Dorman surely did have the people with her. She made every concession to the suffragist, gave her the opening and closing address, and then proceeded to go in and tie her all up in the middle."

At the Warrensburg Fair, Miss Charlotte Rowe swept the crowd off their feet with enthusiasm, the usual heckling by an unpoised suffragist resulting in the crowd following Miss Rowe to another place for another speech, and in an almost unprecedented signing of our pink cards.

At the Syracuse Fair, the anti-suffrage fans were the most sought after souvenir on the grounds and during three intensely warm days the suffragist speakers faced lines of waving pink in every direction. "Shall the Woman in Politics Usurp the Woman in the Home," proved to be the question that none of them could answer. An attractive tent in a good location, provided by the Syracuse auxiliary, was in charge of Mrs. Jerome B. Moore and Mrs. Edwin P. Andrus. Wednesday was Cazenovia Day, Mrs. Remington, Mrs. Stebbins, Mrs. Walters and others relieving Syracuse from tent duty.

Watertown got up an impromptu meeting for Miss Price, who was passing through, and detained her for a luncheon of sixty the next day. Watertown's enthusiasm is equal to any occasion. A debate at Groton Grange and an address before the Pulaski Civic Club (asked for by the Club after the appearance of a suffrage speaker) gives an idea of the variety of Miss Price's activities.

Jefferson County had an opportunity of hearing Miss Bronson at an all-day Pomona Grange quarterly feast at Great Bend, and Williamson County, where Mrs. Annie Riley Hale spoke, reports that "even the suffragettes admit that Mrs. Hale had the best of the arguments there."

Brooklyn anti-suffragists were invited to take part in a mock jury trial of the suffrage question by the Clan MacDonough in Masonic Temple. When the anti-suffrage speakers appeared, the suffragists in a panic refused to "debate" with them, whereupon the Brooklyn auxiliary prepared a paper,

briefly giving arguments pertinent to the occasion, which was handed over to a member of the clan to read. This the member proceeded to do in an inimitable fashion that brought down the house, and Brooklyn is hoping for another such refusal to debate with them.

As is well understood, the anti-suffragist desires to work without blare of trumpets, either before or after victories. These varied examples are cited merely for the benefit of those not always in touch with what is going on, and to emphasize our slogan, "WHERE WE WORK, WE WIN!"

NEW JERSEY

THE "antis" have been able to keep both parties in the State from specifically indorsing woman suffrage. The Republican State platform contains a blanket indorsement of the national platform, while the Democratic State platform does not refer to woman suffrage. Neither party, of course, is saying anything in favor of the "cause" that lost every county but one in the State last October, which is at present a dead political issue in New Jersey.

PARTIAL SUFFRAGE IN ILLINOIS

RECENT inquiries as to the extent and qualifications of woman suffrage in Illinois have elicited from Attorney-General P. J. Lucey, of Illinois, a compilation of the decisions and opinions supplementing the legislation and court action by which partial suffrage was obtained in that State.

It is interesting, in this connection, to review "how the vote was won" in Illinois. In Chicago, at the primaries in April, 1912, the question of woman suffrage was decided by a "straw vote," as the Legislature had not submitted any referendum to the people on this subject. The suffragists, however, thought that it would be a great popular demonstration of the strength of their cause. It was. Of the 606,764 men who voted on the question, 471,354 voted "no," and 135,410 voted "yes"—a majority of over 235,000 for the "antis." Nearly every ward and precinct went anti-suffrage.

This convinced the suffragists that they had no chance with a referendum to the people of Illinois. Did they bow to the popular will? They did not. They organized a secret lobby of four women, Mrs. Grace W. Trout, Mrs. Antoinette Funk, Mrs. Medill McCormick and Mrs. Sherman M. Booth, who went to Springfield and wheedled woman suffrage out of the Legislature to the extent that it was in the power of the Legislature to grant it. Not even the national suffrage leaders were informed of the Illinois suffrage lobby, and even the newspapers were kept in the dark until the deal was "put over."

"Every Evil Lobby Works in Secret," as the PROTEST said at the time (see PROTEST editorial, July, 1913), and no Illinois suffragist has ever announced that she was ashamed, for her State or her sex, that partial suffrage was obtained through methods which would have been condemned by every suffragist in the land had a man-made corporation thus secured a franchise in spite of the popular will.

Attorney-General Lucey, in the foreword of his statement, says:

"I am of the opinion that the issuance and general distribution of a pamphlet containing information and suggestions as to the woman suffrage law in this State would

be of convenience and assistance. Frequent requests are made to this department for information and opinions, and I have complied with these requests whenever I could consistently do so without interjecting my views into a local controversy."

While women may vote for Presidential Electors, they cannot vote for delegates to National Conventions nor take any part in preferential Presidential primaries. They may vote for Trustees of the State University, but not for a County Superintendent of Schools. They may vote for a County Surveyor, but not for a County Judge or a Sheriff. They may not vote for a Governor or Secretary of State or Attorney General. They may vote for a Mayor and Aldermen in cities, but not for Police Magistrates or any judicial officers.

Women in Illinois are not allowed to vote for members of the State Legislature nor for Representatives in Congress nor for mittemen of the political parties. They may not vote on an amendment to the State Constitution.

Separate ballots are therefore provided for the women voters because of the many offices which are filled by a strictly male vote. There are separate ballot boxes for the women, too, but their votes are canvassed with the men's.

Some of the regulations and requirements for the women voters are summed up by the Attorney General as follows:

"To be a qualified voter a woman must be a citizen of the United States, above the age of 21 years, must have resided in the State one year, in the county ninety days, and thirty days in the election district in which she desires to vote. Foreign-born women who are otherwise qualified and who have married natural-born or naturalized citizens of the United States become citizens for voting purposes.

"Foreign-born women, whose parents become naturalized after they have reached their majority, are not citizens of the United States. A woman born in the United States of foreign parents, regardless of whether either of her parents was naturalized, is a citizen unless such parents were temporarily in the United States.

WHY WORKING MEN OPPOSE SUFFRAGE

THE feminists, who believe in "economic independence" for women and who sneer at wives who do not work for wages as "slaves," are the only logical suffragists. And their logic is poor social economy.

They admit that it is preposterous to require a man to work for a woman, to be her economic representative, and yet refuse to let him vote for her and be her political representative. It is both or neither. The one field involves the other.

If all, or a majority of women, were forced to compete with men in industry, there might arise the necessity for having them compete with men in politics. It would be the extension of an evil, not the achievement of a reform.

The industrial competition, insofar as it exists to-day, is temporary and limited—and not conducive to true social progress.

The ideal family is not one where the mother must go to work alongside the father and the children must go to the mill. It is one where the father can earn enough to make his wife the mistress of a home of her own, give her the rest and recreation she needs to become an efficient mother, and

where the children can go to the school instead of the factory. In America this condition exists in more than eight homes in every ten.

As for political economy, it takes no analysis to prove that a family can live much better where the father earns \$25 a week than where mother and father each earn \$12.50. In the first case, one of the partners is released from industry and enabled to spend her entire time looking after the family interests, instead of an employer's interest. As wages are regulated by supply and demand, the woman's industrial competition inevitably lowers her husband's wages.

If the eight women in ten who are married and who are out of industry applied for jobs alongside their husbands to-morrow, wages would go down to where a man would lose all hope of being able to support a wife, establish a home and raise a healthy family. The feminists would correct a present evil—too much feminine competition in industry—by making it permanent and universal, and by adding another evil in the shape of political competition—or "votes for women."

(Philadelphia, Pa., *Record*)

AS a rule, the trade unions are opposed to any further extension of the employment of women in those forms of skilled industry where they come into active competition with male labor. Of late years there has been rapid encroachment of female workers in trades and occupations that were at one time a practical monopoly of the sterner and stouter sex. In many of the lighter manual employments women have developed a superior facility and dexterity. A realization of these conditions upon the part of labor leaders has caused them no little disquietude. They regard the proposed extension of the suffrage to women as a probable means of further and more effective intrusion wherever it may prove possible or profitable to substitute female for male labor.

Looked at from the trade union viewpoint, a fear of unfavorable political and industrial changes when both sexes shall be given a like say in making and administering the laws is not unreasonable.

A SUFFRAGE LEADER ON "THE DOUBLE BURDEN"

ACCORDING to the Newark *Evening News*, one of the suffrage leaders has recently given an interview which advances a splendid anti-suffrage argument. When we remember that eight women in ten are married and that in 93 per cent. of the homes in America there are no servants, and the wife and mother is compelled to devote herself constantly to the service of an average family of five persons, Mrs. McCulloch's statement is all the more forceful. The interview follows:

"No married woman, especially no young married woman, should be urged into a career other than motherhood and homemaking."

That statement was made recently at Atlantic City by Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch in the face of the fact that she is an equal partner in the Chicago law firm of McCulloch & McCulloch and has been for many years legal adviser of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Mrs. McCulloch was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of Illinois in 1886, and before the United States Supreme Court in 1898. Her partner is Frank Hathorn McCulloch, her husband.

Notwithstanding these things, Mrs. McCulloch says that no married woman should be urged into a career other than motherhood and homemaking. And she knows something about that profession, too, for she is the mother of four children, the youngest aged ten.

COST OF DUAL CAREER HIGH

"I have done the two things," said Mrs. McCulloch, "but I often wonder whether the price I have had to pay has been worth it. When I look about at my friends, women of my own age, and see their hair not yet turned gray and their eyes full of sparkle and life, when I see their vitality and liveliness and then look at myself I am almost sorry that I attempted the double burden."

Mrs. McCulloch is a slight, frail little woman, prematurely gray. The tremendous work she has done during the last twenty-five years has left its imprint upon her.

"I have solved the problem of a 'double career' by doing a great deal of my work at home," said Mrs. McCulloch. "For instance, in doing legislative work I prepare the bill at home and arrange all the details necessary. Then in about two days' absence I can go down to Springfield and intrust it to the hands of others. Much of my writing has also been done at home." * * *

HUSBAND AND FRIEND AID HER

"You see," continued Mrs. McCulloch, "I could never have succeeded in doing double duty if it had not been for Clara Swanson who has been with me for the last twenty years. She is a most valuable housekeeper, and when I am away from home is a substitute mother for the children. My general rule, however, is never to be away from home longer than two days at a time.

"Luckily my husband's sympathy is with me. I don't believe any woman should risk antagonizing her husband by attempting any work other than homemaking. If the complete harmony of the household is jeopardized the loss is far greater than anything that could be gained by a separate career."

INDORSEMENTS

IN an extended attack on the anti-suffragists recently in Wheeling, West Virginia, Mrs. Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale said: "They are the so-called aristocratic class . . . with no one indorsing them but the liquor dealers."

In Mrs. Hale's State, last November, the "antis" were indorsed by the votes of 748,000 men. The suffragists could get the indorsement of but 553,000 voters. The United States Census of Occupations, Volume IV, Table VI, shows that there are in New York only 39,000 persons engaged as liquor dealers, brewery workers, saloonkeepers, bartenders, etc. If the "antis" had "no one indorsing them but the liquor dealers," suffrage should have won by 500,000 majority! Mrs. Hale's statement is a sample of the dogmatic absurdities to which even its best representatives have to descend to defend the "cause."

WHAT IS SUFFRAGE WORTH?

THE suffragists contend "it is inconceivable that any one in New York State would use as an argument against woman suffrage 'that it would increase the taxes' in a State where graft and misappropriation of public moneys has been so common."

After this, it is admitted that California taxes have increased under woman suffrage, but that the increase was mostly for a list of commission schools, free text-books, experiment stations, hospital for the insane, etc. In other words, suffragists are trying by every means in their power to juggle a few isolated figures to prove that woman suffrage does not increase taxes—a palpable absurdity. They have even claimed that "woman suffrage will decrease taxes" and actually give figures which apparently sustain their absurd contention. Every figure so given is some sort of a manipulation of statistics. How is it done? As easily as this: There are forty-eight different State systems in this country for the collection and disbursement of public funds, and besides, several hundred different county systems. Even the United States Census Bureau has the utmost difficulty in getting all these systems reduced to a common basis for comparisons. For instance, in one section property is assessed at its full value, in another at some fraction of its value, thus the tax rate cannot be justly compared unless we know what it is based on.

Again, there are State governmental costs and county governmental costs.

In general, the States which expend the most money as States also expend the most money in counties, but it is not always nor necessarily the case.

The suffragists have the habit of giving the thing either way that suits their convenience. For instance, by counties, California has the highest per capita governmental cost. The levies from general property varied in 1913 from 9.30 in Alameda County to 33.25 in Colusa County, the average being \$15.64. Following California, by counties, are nine of the eleven full suffrage States in governmental costs. Then follow Maryland, South Dakota, Florida, Iowa and North Dakota, then Utah. By State cost payments three suffrage States, Nevada, California and Idaho are in the lead, followed by Massachusetts—which is thirtieth on the county cost payment tables. (Page 68, Volume II, U. S. Document, "Wealth, Debt and Taxation," 1913.)

Besides, we find that California has the highest per capita poll and occupation tax—although twenty-four counties of the State did not report receipts from poll taxes to the United States Government in 1913!

To get a fair and broad estimate of the difference in the cost of government with and without woman suffrage, let us take two groups of States where the advantage would normally lie altogether with the suffragists:

New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania have a population of 20,570,382 and spent in 1913 for "governmental cost payments" \$110,779,028, or \$5.39 per capita, on State government. Washington, Oregon and California in the same year, with a population of 4,769,190, spent \$30,470,809, or \$6.39 per capita. According to this table, a suffragist might say: "Well, it only costs a dollar more a year for every man, woman and child under double suffrage—that is not so much!" But let us get the county comparisons as well:

New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania in 1913 spent \$37,194,158 by counties, or \$1.81 per capita. The same year Washington, Oregon and California spent \$123,130,373 by counties, or \$25.94 per capita!

Combining the figures, we have a governmental cost, State and county, of \$7.50 per capita in the man-suffrage States against \$32.33 in the double-suffrage States! (Page 81, "Wealth, Debt and Taxation.")

Of course, no anti-suffragist would contend that this remarkable difference in the cost of government is due *entirely* to woman suffrage. It is not. But whether it costs \$1 more per capita or \$20.00 more per capita to have woman suffrage, the real point is—*is it worth it?* Have suffragists offered anything by way of compensation for the increase in taxes?

They have not, and it is quite significant that they would rather juggle the figures to make out that we can have double suffrage for nothing than try to prove that it is worth what it costs! If it were worth what it costs, why should they attempt to have people believe that it costs nothing! "Something for nothing" is never worth any more than that, as we all know. It has been demonstrated that in legislation for women and all other advanced measures, the suffrage States are not in the lead, and some of them are remarkably behind, such as Colorado and Wyoming, on child labor. But that is another story. We can earn and produce only a certain amount of wealth a year, with or without woman suffrage, and if woman suffrage cost us only 50 cents a year more per capita it would be a wasteful extravagance, when the same amount would build five dreadnaughts, or aid us in some other way where we can see that our taxes are spent for some good purpose.

A LETTER FROM KANSAS

BALDWIN, KANS.

Dear Madam—

Noting in the Kansas City *Star* the account of the resolution taken by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, I determined, although living in a suffrage State, to write to those in office in the Anti-Suffrage Association and announce my sympathy with its views. I do not know of any way that I can be of real help, but it seems to me that if the suffrage craze is not checked children, and women who have children, are bound to suffer in the next generation—yes, more than that, men and boys will suffer. I have three sons and six daughters. I want my daughters to have their rights and be happy and useful not only in their homes, but in society and church, but I crave equal rights for the sons.

I talked with many women during the campaign in Kansas, and a very small percentage of those believed in suffrage. Many more were indifferent. If the question had been submitted to the women, the amendment, I truly believe, would not have passed.

It seems to me that the women who are working for National suffrage are narrow—although I do not wish to be unjust. It seems to me that the great questions of peace for the world and prohibition for our own country would now overshadow all other questions. I do not know that I have helped with this letter, but I feel better to have written it. I was from early childhood taught that woman suffrage was right, but the speakers for it and the scramble of women for office have completely changed my views.

Sincerely yours,

You are at liberty to use my name in telling anything I have written in this letter.

A LETTER FROM COLORADO

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.

THE WOMAN'S PROTEST,

Madam Editor—

I would like to subscribe to your magazine, having been reading several numbers borrowed from a friend. Enclosed, please find check for same.

I have lived in Colorado for over twenty years, have voted all the time as consistently as I could. I have had many and good friends on both sides of the suffrage question, have had rather a free, untrammelled life, and as I've grown older and my convictions have become crystallized on all subjects, they have grown more and more opposed to suffrage.

My life has been lived in this very wide-awake, alive town, on a large ranch and in

a mining-camp. I've met the women and been a part of each community in which I lived and I fail to see how suffrage has helped or benefitted any one of them in particular or the State at large. I have heard prominent speakers of the "Woman's Party" speak and my friends urge my allegiance to their side, but I feel more and more sure that I am not one of them in any sense of the word.

This letter is not for publication, as it is not carefully written, but I wished to add my name to your side of this momentous question.

Very cordially,

[This woman's name is omitted to save her the customary annoyance and intolerant persecution which the "purifiers of politics" always bring against individuals.—EDITOR.]

AN APPEAL TO ANTIS

TO the Presidents of Woman's Anti-Suffrage Associations:

I am writing a few lines to suggest that perhaps those women who have not wished to assume the duties of the ballot, may be in a better position to be "prepared" for the exigencies of a possible war than those who are bent upon political advantages. (?)

Should not the women of this country find a way to fit themselves for the duties of nursing; of complete mastery of domestic details, (since they may lack a masculine helper) and for any other contingencies that a wise forethought may prompt?

It is the theory of the anti-suffrage women, that woman should not have to actively participate in politics. May they not now demonstrate this theory, by proving that if she *does* fit herself for her own peculiar responsibilities under stress of a National calamity, she will not have time to actively occupy herself with affairs of State?

The women of the Revolution were thrown absolutely on their own resources during the absence of the men who were fighting for a freedom dearer than life itself. Are the women of today as well equipped for just that sort of service to their country?

If we are *not* so well equipped, let us see to it that "Preparedness" does not stop short of those who must be the guardians of fireside and children, should the men have to obey the call to arms in defense of both.

Believing that much can be accomplished if enough women put their shoulders to this wheel, I am,

Very sincerely,

(Signed) BESSIE H. SMITH.

Lexington, Ky.

WHY PAT McGOOGAN VOTED "NO"

A Political Playlet, Founded on Feminism. By Anne Anti

Characters:

Pat McGoogan, a Paving Contractor

Madge McGoogan, his Wife

Scene: Their Dining Room

Time: A Late Supper

MRS. McGOOGAN—Pat, ye'r an 'our late. What's the matter? If I kept ye waitin' that long, ye'd be raisin' a fuss.

Pat—Well, 'tis only a few days till election, an' I wuz attendin' a political meetin'.

Mrs. McGoogan—A political meetin'? An' since when do they be havin' thim before supper, Mr. McGoogan?

Pat—Twas a suffrage meetin'. A foine lass on the corner wuz tellin' why wimin should vote, an' givin' the boys great p'int on the politics of the Far West, Australier and Iceland, where, it seems, the wimin have done things we min have not attendid to here.

Mrs. McGoogan—Patrick McGoogan! Ye'r more fool thin I thought. A mon of yer age listinin' to the sermon of a suffragette! Ye min seem to need a nurse from the cradle to the coffin to save ye from the snares of designin' wimin.

We wimin have knoan ye were a little soft, goin' to Congress and the Legislatur every year or two, an' talkin' an' writin' about the land ye think ye rule.

We do not dispute the p'int, for 'tis easier to get along with ye whin yer rulin' the wurruld thin whin yer worryin' over the rint. But if it comes to a show-down, Mr. McGoogan, I want ye to know that the wimin control this country, in spite of yer laws, an' votes, an' demicrats an' republicins.

Ye sit down an' make a few laws, an' ye think thot hoomanity is dependin' on yer wurrds an' wisdom—while we wimin buy an' cook a thousand meals a year for ye, select the things ye like, or need, if ye don't like, see thot yer not p'isined three toimes a day, thot yer clothes an' socks are in a respectable condition—an' ye nevir even notice it.

'Tis awful proud ye are to say: "Here, Mr. Murphy, is the street I paved last fall. I used so much stone an' so much asphalt. I biled the asphalt so, in wun of Hogan's new cookers. Don't ye think it's a foine job?" An' Murphy sez:

"Shure, an' it is thot, Mr. McGoogan. The city should sind ye to Congress for such a job."

But, Patrick McGoogan, what have I to show for the Christmas dinner thot I cooked for ye an' Murphy an' Hogan? 'Twas a foine job, too, if I do say it meself. But ye ate it! 'Tis the way of ye min. Ye ate or wear out the wurruk of wimin on yer backs. An' ye say nothin' about it

unless 'tis bad. Thin ye growl like a sick kid till we please ye better.

But whin wun of these suffragettes tells ye how much ye don't know about yer own politics, ye give her yer votes right away—simply because she talks somethin' ye'r dull enough to understand.

We have let ye min amoose yerselves with politics for years. It doesn't do ye as much harm as drink, it keeps ye away from wimin and out of divilmint, an' in general, I'm in favor of it—but for min only!

If wimin get into it, Pat, yer amoosement will be gone. 'Twill be a real battle an' no mistake.

Do ye think we'r goin' to listin to ye tellin' how ye were detained till wun in the mornin' learnin' the booties of Californyer by moonlight with Miss Mischief of the third ward?

Do ye think ye'r goin' to political meetin's in the evenin' while we do the dishes an' moind the children, knowin' ye'r studyin' law and the rulin' of the wurruld with wimin, instead of just innocently denouncin' the republicins?

How will yer min wurruk on the streets, if the foine lass on every corner is to tell thim how much easier it is to vote for what they want than to wurruk for it?

Pat—Muther, yer ramblin' for shure. The gurril plainly sed thot votes for wimin would clean up politics an' the streets, too.

Mrs. McGoogan—I don't care what she sed. 'Tis the facts I'm after. Ye min believe anythin' any wimin tell ye, providin' they haven't married ye.

But, Mr. McGoogan, yer wife is tellin' ye this: Ye go right down to McGinnis's barber shop next Tuesday an' ye mark yer ballot "no" on this suffrage bizness. An' while ye get shaved, ye may as well tell the other boys to do the same.

These suffragettes are always tellin' ye min how much easier they can do yer wurruk. Of course they can. Any womon can do a mon's wurruk easier than her own. But the suffragettes have patented nothin' to help the wurruk of wimin.

We've too much to do as it is. We're not goin' to neglect our children to keep these wimin frum leadin' ye astray. Ye will vote "no," Mr. McGoogan, or go live with a suffragette.

Pat—Well, now, thot is not jist appealin', but—

Mrs. McGoogan—Thin, vote "no."

"And he did."

PREPAREDNESS OR PACIFISM

THE recent actions of suffragists on the question of preparedness are, if anything, inimical to the maintenance of adequate national defense. We have been shown by events during the past few months that America is no longer isolated; and that the Atlantic Ocean is no broader now, in point of time, than the North Sea was in the days of John Paul Jones. Serious-minded Americans, whatever their views as to the ultimate "Federation of the World," must, in the present state of civilization, resist all attempts by dreamers, professional pacifists and their dupes to "Chinify this country."

This is a menace, regardless of the motives of the men and women who are agitating for "peace at any price." All of these persons are ardent suffragists. Moreover, they have been sustained, rather than repudiated, by the suffrage organizations. A long list of prominent suffrage leaders who are pacifists might be given were it necessary to prove that which is obvious and which has not been denied.

The so-called "Woman's Peace Party" was founded, according to a statement issued by Miss Jane Addams, merely to assist the suffrage movement. Its abortive attempt to "unite" the women of Europe for suffrage under the flag of peace is history. Not only that, but its leaders, unsuccessful in arousing any favorable sentiment among European women, returned to America, and, by giving out false information to the effect that every country in Europe was merely awaiting a pacifist demonstration to "get the boys out of the trenches by Christmas," they were able to deceive several men into paying for another useless trip whose net achievement was the placing of a few well-known names on the front pages of the newspapers.

It is true that several women who believe in suffrage have joined preparedness organizations, but none of them has ever succeeded in getting preparedness indorsed by the suffrage associations.

In fact, we find in "A Modern Declaration of Independence," which was printed in

the so-called *Woman's Journal*, the official suffrage organ, at the time of the Peace Party fiasco, the following complaints against the United States Government:

"It has raised armies and navies without our consent."

"It has declared war without our sanction."

The suffragists, in other words, have officially refused to indorse any measures for the military protection of the United States.

Compare these sentiments with the attitude expressed by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in the following resolution, passed on January 27, 1916:

Be It Resolved, That adequate measures for National Defense should receive the support of every loyal American.

That woman everywhere should strive to further the cause of preparedness by the study of the sources and conservation of the food supply, by thrift and economy in household management and by training in the care for the physical well-being of our people in times of peace as well as of national disaster.

That this Association appeals to the mothers of the country to teach their children reverence for authority, obedience to law and willingness to sacrifice selfish interests for the country's good.

NOTES AND COMMENT

"FLOPS" FOR WOMEN

REPUBLICANS in West Virginia are incensed at the recent "flop" of Mrs. Antoinette Funk, the Chicago suffrage leader, who has gone over to the Democrats since her address to the Republican convention at Huntington several weeks ago. At that convention Mrs. Funk devoted a large part of her address to a glowing account of the stalwart Republicanism of herself and her family. "She talked as though her people invented the Republican party," one of her hearers said. She declared that it was with great difficulty that she had torn herself away from her Chicago campaign for the Republican candidate to come to West Virginia. Since she has "flopped," however, many of the Republicans are freely alleging that it is due to her disappointment over not getting a position in the Republican campaign in the West which she had coveted, and which was given to another woman. Democrats, on the other hand, are somewhat angry at Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont's attempt to raise money in West Virginia to "defeat the Democrats" in the West. Mrs. Belmont, at Chicago, declared that she had been a Democrat all her life. Now she is working against the Democrats, and declares she will cast her first vote against them.

The men are not taking kindly to these sudden "flops," and the fact that they occur among the leading representatives of the "cause" and are based on no more worthy motives than "self or suffrage first" is aggravating the anti-suffrage sentiment among the politicians. "We will win in West Virginia."

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

The following statement in the *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver) of September 12th was signed by Fred W. Parks, treasurer of the Taxpayers League:

"The taxpayers of Denver with those of twenty-seven other counties of the State have been overburdened with taxes for the last four years through the unwarranted, unjust and discriminate action and methods of the iniquitous Democratic State Tax Commission, composed of the two Shafroth Democrats and one Carlson Republican. This commission, under two Democratic administrations and under the present Republican administration, has usurped the powers and duties of the local assessor and placed the tax burdens only where political expediency demanded, and this unjust action upon the part of this commission has been sustained by the present Supreme Court by a divided court."

DO WOMEN VOTE?

Under the heading, "Women Silent on Voting Day," the *Chicago Tribune* of September 14th says: "There was a mild interest in the election of sanitary district trustees, but it did not bring out the mass of registered women voters." It states that at the mayoralty primary in 1915 the number of women voting was 189,700. At the aldermanic primary in February, 1916, the number of women voting was 81,121. At the recent primary, on September 13, 1916, the number was only 64,930. A conservative estimate of the number of women

eligible to vote in Chicago is 625,000. Of these, 560,000 stayed away from the polls on September 13th.

A STRANGE COMMENTARY

(From the Cincinnati *Times-Star*.)

Within the past year or two many of the greatest States of the Union, by popular vote, have declared that they do not want woman suffrage. . . . It would be a strange commentary on our present-day devotion to direct popular rule for these great States to have suffrage rammed down their throats by the Legislatures of sparsely-populated States like Montana, Nevada and Wyoming.

AFRAID OF INDIANS!

IF the rest of the men inspired as much fear, per capita, in the feminist heart as the noble red man of South Dakota, the "cause" would close up shop tomorrow. For twenty-five years suffragists have complained because some Indians vote in South Dakota. Their national president, even, referred to it in her last annual report at Atlantic City, and when, a few months ago, another group of South Dakota Indians was admitted to citizenship, soap-box orators as far away as Fifth Avenue bitterly condemned the Government for "giving the Indians a chance to defeat woman suffrage." According to the Census, there are only 4,991 Indians over twenty-one among the 178,189 adult males in South Dakota. The "cause" evidently expects very few votes in that State.

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